

Proposal for

W2I

Will to
Intervene





Senator Roméo Dallaire and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies: a Partnership

On 8 September 2006, Lieutenant-General the Honourable Roméo Dallaire, Senator, and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS), a research centre at Concordia University, announced their new partnership in the fight against genocide and other crimes against humanity.

Appointed MIGS Senior Fellow, Senator Dallaire is an advocate of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding in the world's war-torn regions. During 1994, at the time of the Rwanda genocide, he commanded the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). His troubling experiences there influenced his subsequent life and career choices, including the decision to write his account of the traumatic events, *Shake Hands with the Devil - the Failure of Humanity in Rwanda*. This work has earned international recognition as well as the 2004 Governor General's Literary Award for Non-Fiction and the Shaughnessy Cohen Prize for political writing awarded by the Writers' Trust of Canada.

Senator Dallaire is an Officer of the Order of Canada, Grand Officer of the National Order of Québec, and has been awarded the United States Legion of Merit. He has also been awarded the Aegis Award on Genocide Prevention and the United Nations Association of Canada's Pearson Peace Medal. While a Fellow of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, he conducted research in the areas of conflict resolution and the elimination of the use of child soldiers.

General Dallaire was summoned to the Senate of Canada on 24 March 2005, and continues to write and speak out against human rights abuses, genocide, and ethnic cleansing. In April 2006, he was appointed to the United Nations Advisory Committee on Genocide Prevention by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

MIGS was founded in 1986, and is a research institute of the Faculty of Arts and Science at Concordia University. Under the leadership of its cofounder, Professor Frank Chalk (History), former President of the International Association of Genocide Scholars, and coauthor of *The History and Sociology of Genocide*, MIGS acts as a focus for some one dozen graduate students currently completing their master's and doctoral degrees on various aspects of genocide studies. The institute organizes workshops and conferences, and provides research opportunities and undergraduate teaching.

MIGS' mission includes the development and management of major research programs focusing on the prevention and prosecution of genocide and other crimes against humanity. In pursuit of this goal, MIGS has developed the concept of the **Will to Intervene** project, a crucial initiative that it wishes to urgently pursue in partnership with Senator Dallaire.

Executive Summary

- The goal of the *Will to Intervene (W2I)* project is to develop practical tools to generate sufficient political will to prevent genocide and other crimes against humanity. This will be accomplished by achieving three objectives:
 - i. *mapping the processes* of Canadian and US domestic political will generation to prevent genocide or other crimes against humanity;
 - ii. *identifying the deficiencies, key intervention points, and influences* within these processes; and
 - iii. *developing practical recommendations*, based upon these findings, to ensure leaders and their governments take timely and effective actions.
- *W2I* will expand upon the groundbreaking work of the Canadian-Government-sponsored *Responsibility to Protect (R2P)* initiative, which conceived of a concept of sovereignty based in a state's responsibility to protect its citizens, and the international community's responsibility to intervene if that state fails in its obligation to protect by committing mass atrocity crimes and gross human rights violations against its own people. World leaders endorsed the key recommendations of *R2P* at the UNWorld Summit (2005). Yet, while ascribing past failures to intervene to a lack of political will recognizing that "the key to mobilizing international support is mobilizing domestic support," suggesting that properly targeted advocacy may generate sufficient resolve, *R2P* stopped short of further investigation. *W2I* will seek to fill the resulting lacunae, which have yet to be addressed by other research initiatives.



- The proposed project will extend over a sixteen-month period. It will employ three full-time researchers and an administrator, and will require a total budget of some C\$390,000 (US\$335,000). The Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS) research team is currently applying, in partnership with Senator Roméo Dallaire, for external funding from multiple sources.

Innovative Research

- The research team will develop models of the processes of Canadian and US domestic political will generation, and evaluate and refine these through four stages:
 - i. Literature Analysis;
 - ii. Interviews;
 - iii. Evaluative Workshops; and
 - iv. Review Committee Feedback.



- Literature Analysis: the investigation of multiple historical instances of intervention (e.g. Kosovo) and non-intervention (e.g. Rwanda), including *R2P* case studies, as well as 21st century examples (e.g. Darfur); and examination of analogous issues in political will generation (e.g. HIV-/ AIDS-prevention).
- Interviews: sixty interviews with key, high-level advocates (e.g. NGO directors) and high-level government decision-makers (both politicians and bureaucrats); candor will be encouraged by granting the option of anonymity under Chatham House rules and

focusing on how the lessons learnt from past experience might inform future scenarios.

- Evaluative Workshops: four workshops soliciting critiques from expert academics and professionals (both governmental and non-governmental).

Workshop 1: 'Concepts' will be held during the Literature Analysis phase to assist in process model development.

Workshop 2: 'Interview Findings' will be convened after the completion of the Interview phase to help evaluate findings.

Workshop 3: 'Academic Consultation' will take place as the draft report is being written to assist in research analysis.

Workshop 4: 'Advocate and Decision-Maker Consultation' will bring together governmental and non-governmental professionals, and will be held after the draft report is completed to help formulate practical recommendations and review findings with these key participants.

- Review Committee Feedback: input from a panel of eminent persons (including R2P advisors and members of the Advisory Committee to the Office of the UN Special Advisor to the Secretary-General for Genocide Prevention) will be received before releasing the final report.



Timeline

- It is expected the project will last approximately 16 months from inception to completion. The output documents will be delivered one month prior to completion of the project. Key phases and milestones are highlighted in Table 1, below

Milestone = X	Months															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Literature Analysis	→															
W1: Concepts			X													
Interviews			→													
W2: Interview Findings							X									
W3: Academic Consult'n										X						
Draft Report							→									
W4: Adv. & D-M Consult'n													X			
Review Committee Feedback													X			
Tools Released																X

Table 1

Key Questions

- The **W2I** project will ask key questions structured around three principal themes: Advocacy, Decision-Making, and Translation from Advocacy into Policy Formulation.
- Advocacy – focused on those who encourage the generation of the political will to act:
 - i. identify the advocates;
 - ii. map the processes of advocacy;
 - iii. map the *perceived* (by the advocates) processes of interaction with the decision-makers;
 - iv. determine *perceived* key actions and links; and
 - v. determine *perceived* key decision-makers.
- Decision-Making – examining those who control the government policy decision-making process, including both politicians and bureaucrats:
 - i. identify the decision-makers;
 - ii. map *perceived* (by the decision-makers) processes of interaction with advocates;
 - iii. determine *perceived* key actions and links; and
 - iv. determine *perceived* key advocacy constituencies.
- Translation – studying how the influence of advocates translates into policy formulation by the decision-makers?
 - i. identify how the decision-makers respond to advocacy;



- ii. identify relative importance of factors to decision-makers (e.g. direct national interests/ indirect geopolitics/cultural affinities with victims/ domestic culture/domestic politics/cost-benefits/ ethics/ etc.)
- iii. map processes of policy formulation;



- iv. identify how the decision-makers translate their views into policy;
- v. determine key actions and links; and
- vi. determine key players/ positions of influence.

Practical Results

- The research will be synthesized into a policy report and academic articles. Addressing the prevention of genocide and other crimes against humanity, *W2I* will, for the first time:
 - i. map the political will generation process;
 - ii. identify key actors/ positions of influence;
 - iii. identify key intervention points;
 - iv. recommend actions for intervention at those points; and
 - v. recommend methods for recognizing opportunities and avoiding obstacles.
- Output documents will include:
 - i. full Policy Report;
 - ii. summary Policy Report;
 - iii. tailored Policy Briefings; for key constituencies (including non governmental agencies, journalists, editors, politicians and public servants.)

- iv. website database and forum;
- v. academic articles; and
- vi. publicity interviews and op-eds.

Funding Requirements

- The overall funding requirement for the sixteen-month initiative, comprising the four stages above, including sixty interviews and four workshops, is C\$390,000 (US\$335,000). **W2I** will be staffed by three dedicated Project Researchers (each with appropriate academic and project management experience) and one dedicated Project Coordinator. A budgetary analysis is provided in Table 2, below:

	C\$	C\$
Project Researcher		150,000
Project Coordinator		37,500
Accomm. & expenses	27,000	
Flights	9,000	
Interview costs (60)		36,000
Accomm. & expenses	51,000	
Flights	30,000	
Facilities	20,000	
Workshop costs (4)		101,000
Website and database		10,000
Publication costs		30,000
Contingency		25,500
GRAND TOTAL		390,000

Table 2

Future Phases under Consideration

- Three future phases of the *W2I* project have already been identified for future consideration. These comprise the generation of political will in Middle Powers; the generation of political will in Middle-Power international cooperation; and the generation of political will in other international cooperation scenarios.



Summary of Key Points

- i. investigation of political will generation;
- ii. building upon *R2P*
- iii. practical tools and tailored, recommended actions;
- iv. budget: C\$390,000 (US\$335,000); and
- v. tools released fifteen months after launch.



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